

**TODAY and
TOMORROW**

THE BURMA ACT

THE situation in Burma has been recently described by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Netaji explained that the British have advanced in Burma by sacrificing enormous quantities of war materials and by more unscrupulous sacrifice of Indian troops. "The present position in Burma," says Netaji, "is that fighting is going on in all parts of the country—in the Shan States, in the Toungoo area, near Pegu, near Prome and in the Arakans. The main force of the enemy is still being held up, and nobody can say how long the fight will go on, or when the enemy will succeed in capturing Burma. Though the strength of the Azad Hind Fauj is small, compared to the Nipponese Army, our comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj are fighting on under very difficult conditions."

But already the people of Burma, whom the British claim to have liberated, are beginning to understand the meaning of "liberation" by the British. If any Burmese placed the least trust in British promises of independence and self-government for Burma—promises made when the British forces badly needed the co-operation of the Burmese people—disillusionment has followed quickly. As a compensation for the loss of their independence, the Burmese people have been presented with a new Burma Act accompanied by the usual vague promise of self-government for the future. But what the Burmese are actually getting is the old British governor with full autocratic powers and an Executive Council to be chosen by the governor himself and responsible not to the Burmese people, but only to the British Governor.

Rightly, the Burmese people look upon the new Burma Act as an attempt to condemn Burma to eternal slavery. To such criticism the British make the answer that at present Burma lacks leaders and only after a period of autocracy of the British Governor, a more representative government can come into being. To defend the governor's autocracy in Burma, the British say there are no leaders. In India the British argument to defend the Viceroy's special powers is that there are too many leaders and too many parties which are divided and opposed against one another!!

It is interesting to note that the Wavell proposals for India and the Burma Act are essentially the same. British Imperialism works on the same pattern whether in Burma or in India!

The Burmese people have tasted actual independence, though for a short period of about three years. Yet, because they have fought for freedom for many long decades, even this short period of independence has absolutely convinced them that nothing short of complete independence will restore Burma to her proper place as a nation in world economy and politics.

However cunning British diplomacy may be, the British cannot camouflage this glaring fact. The Burmese people know what British imperialism means and they will resist and will strive to destroy it with all their moral and physical strength.

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Righteous Cause Is Bound To Prevail In The Long Run, Exhorts Netaji Bose To Fellow-Revolutionaries At Home In Soul Stirring Broadcast Address Directed To India

"I am confident that if we fight on and if we play our cards well in the international field, we shall win our freedom by the end of this war. But that does not mean that if, by any chance, we fail to do so, we should be disheartened or depressed. Consequently, if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of this war, our next plan shall be a post-war revolution inside India."

Thus stated Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, in a broadcast to his fellow-revolutionaries inside India last night.

The text of Netaji's broadcast is given below:

Comrades! Today I am addressing you as a revolutionary, speaking to fellow-revolutionaries, as I would have done, if I had been in your midst. India is now facing a political crisis and if a wrong step is taken we might suffer a setback in our march towards independence. I cannot tell you how worried I feel today because, on the one hand, Independence is within sight—while, on the other hand, if a wrong step is taken, that independence may recede into the distance.

At the outset, let me tell you that enemy propaganda in India has been so successful that influential sections of our countrymen, who, only three years ago, were convinced that independence was within grasp, and who were determined to "Do or Die" in order to win that independence, are now thinking in terms of Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. We who are outside India at this critical juncture, can take a much more objective view of the entire world-situation than many of our countrymen at home. It is, therefore, our duty to tell you frankly what we think and to advise you accordingly.

Ready To Meet Offensive

After we withdrew our Headquarters from Rangoon, it was open to us to move to another place inside Burma—just as the Government of Independent Burma did—on the ground, that our troops were still fighting inside Burma. But we instinctively felt that the enemy would immediately exploit his recent military successes in Europe and in Burma, and launch a new political and military offensive. Consequently, we should be ready to meet that offensive and we should be at a place from where we could speak to India, if necessary. That is the principal reason why I am in Syonan today.

The crisis that faces India today has arisen because some influential sections among our countrymen who, only three years ago were shouting "Liberty or Death," are now prepared to enter into a compromise with the British Government, on Lord Wavell's own terms. This attitude is altogether mistaken and unjustified for two reasons: Firstly, there can be no compromise on the question of independence. Secondly, the situation is not what these

countrymen of ours think, and if we continue our resistance to British Imperialism, we shall win our independence by the end of this war.

If among those who are listening to me now there is anyone who has any doubt as to whether I am in close touch with what is happening all over the world, he can himself judge from one simple fact. He must have noticed from my daily talks during the last week that I am in intimate touch with the daily developments inside India. And if I am in touch with the daily developments at home, I can easily be in touch with what is happening all over the world. On the other hand for those who are inside India and who cannot see what is happening in that part of the world that is not dominated by the Anglo-Americans, and who are victims of skilful enemy propaganda, it is difficult to form an objective opinion of the entire world situation. Today, the whole world is in the melting-pot and India's destiny is bound up, to some extent, with what is happening all over the world.

Optimistic Outlook

Now, why am I so optimistic at a time when some of our prominent leaders have developed such a defeatist mentality? It is because of two principal reasons. Firstly, we are carrying on an armed struggle against the British and their allies, and we are not pessimistic about the situation in East Asia, in spite of our recent reverses in Burma.

Secondly, India has become an international issue and if that issue is not converted into a domestic issue of the British Empire, India's case will come up before the bar of world opinion. Can't you see with your own eyes or hear with your own ears how Syria and Lebanon are exploiting the world situation to their advantage, by creating a split within the camp of the so-called Allied Nations? We are not less intelligent or less far-sighted than the leaders of Syria and Lebanon. But if we want to bring the Indian issue before the bar of world opinion, we have to do two things.

Firstly, we have to prevent any compromise with British Imperialism. Secondly, we have to assert India's right to freedom with arms. If our countrymen at home cannot take up arms, or they cannot continue even Civil Disobedience against

Britain's war effort, let them at least keep up the moral resistance to British Imperialism and refuse to come to any compromise. We shall continue to assert India's right to freedom with arms, and so long as we do so, no power on earth can prevent India remaining an International issue, provided you do not let us down by compromising with the British Government.

I understand that some of the leaders at home are furious with me for opposing their plans for a compromise with the British Government. They are also furious with me for pointing out that the Congress Working Committee has constitutionally no right to make such a fateful decision, behind the back of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress. And they are furious with me for pointing out that the Congress Working Committee does not represent Left Wing opinion in the Congress and in the country. These infuriated leaders are abusing me for taking the help of the Nipponese.

I am not ashamed of taking the help of Nippon. By co-operation with Nippon on this basis, Nippon recognises India's complete independence and has granted formal recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or Free India. But these who now want to co-operate with the British Government, and fight Britain's imperialist war, are prepared to accept the position of subordinates, responsible to Britain's Viceroy in India. If they were to co-operate with the British Government on the basis that Britain grants formal recognition to a Government of Free India, that would be a different matter.

Nippon Aid To Form I.N.A.

Moreover, Nippon has given us the arms with which to organise an army, which is Indian from top to bottom. This Army, the Azad Hind Fauj, has been trained by Indian instructors using the Indian language. This army carries India's national flag and its slogans are India's national slogans. This army has its own Indian officers and its own Officers' Training Schools, run entirely by Indians. And, in the field of battle this army fights under its own Indian commanders, some of whom have now reached the rank of General. If one talks of a puppet

(Continued on next page)

British Act Sadly Disillusions All Burmese People

Pointing out that the Burmese cannot be deceived with vague promises and that when they ultimately become fully disillusioned they would turn against their British rulers the weapons which they recently procured, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauj, issued the following statement a few days ago on the policy of the British Government regarding Burma when the Burma Bill was being introduced in the British Parliament and which has now been passed:

The first stage in the gradual disillusionment of the people of Burma has been reached. As a compensation for the loss of their newly won independence, the Burmese people have been presented with a new Bill which has been passed in British Parliament. This Bill is accompanied by the usual vague promise of self-government for the future. For the present, the only tangible thing that Burma will get will be a Governor, Executive Council which will be responsible, not to the Burmese people or their Legislature, but to the Governor himself. A few flunkies, official and non-official, and some Britishers will be given seats in the Executive Council. There will be a Debating Society in the shape of a legislature, which will have no control over the Governor or his Executive Council and which will serve as an entertainment to those who love to talk.

If the British think that the people of Burma who have had a taste of independence, however short-lived, will be deceived by such tricks then must say that they have learnt nothing since they were driven out of East Asia. It goes without saying that the disillusionment which has begun to overtake the Burmese people will be complete when they finally realise that the British promise of self-government—not of independence—is nothing more than similar promises of the past. I have no doubt in my mind that when complete disillusionment ultimately overtakes them, the Burmese people will turn against their British rulers, the weapons that they recently procured when they were enjoying their independence.

It is very interesting to note in this connection that there is no talk whatsoever of a national Army for Burma. Independent Burma had an Army of its own, however small it might have been. But under the benign aegis of their British liberators

(Continued on next page)

Dai Honyei Reveals Foe's Colossal Losses In Men & Material In Okinawa

Tokyo, June 25 (Domei)—Dai Honyei revealed in a communique released at 2.30 this afternoon as follows:—

"Firstly, the war situation in the southern section of Main Okinawa Island since the middle part of June stands as follows:

"(a) Our forces after shifting their defence line to Oroku and Shimajiri sectors in the southern section of the island continued to fight gallantly against enemy forces over seven divisions strong who enjoyed the support of superior air and naval forces, inflicting further heavy losses on the enemy. However, from about June 16 enemy forces began gradually to infiltrate into our main positions.

"(b) Our marine forces in the Oroku sector under the command of Rear-Admiral Minoru Ota after fulfilling their duties of covering the transfer of the main strength of our forces to the Shimajiri sector in the southern section of the island, carried out a final slashing assault on the enemy on June 13. All members of these marine forces took part in this final assault.

"(c) Lieut.-General Mitsuru Ushijima, Supreme Commander of Nippon forces in the Okinawa sector, employing all forces under his disposal, made a final assault on the main strength of enemy forces on June 20.

"(d) A section of our forces thereafter still continues to fight a gallant battle, defending desperately our positions in the Shimajiri sector. However, details of the war situation are unavailable since June 22.

"Secondly, our air units continue to take advantage of opportunities to attack enemy warcraft and transports around Okinawa Island as well as enemy airbases, at the same time extending co-operation to ground forces.

"Thirdly, losses inflicted on the enemy since the start of operations in this sector, include some 30,000 casualties among enemy ground forces and some 600 enemy warcraft and transports either sunk or damaged in waters around the Okinawa Group.

"Fourthly, our government officials and civilians in the Okinawa sector, with Governor Akira Shimada as the nucleus, fought valiantly from beginning to end in defence of their homeland, in close co-operation with our fighting services."

Journalists' Association Holds Successful Rally

Syonan, June 25 (Domei)—Sponsored by the local journalists' club the Nanko Kisha Kai, and assisted by the Eurasian Welfare Association, a successful lecture-movie show was held Saturday at the Fuji Gekijo when talks were given by well-known local journalists to further heighten the war consciousness of the local inhabitants.

Taking part in the rally were Mr. T. Hone and Mr. Roy Ferroa, Chairman and Secretary of the Journalists' Club respectively, Dr. C. J. Paglar, President of the Eurasian Welfare Association, and Tuan Abdul Samad Ismail, chief editor of the Berita Malai. A stage show under the direction of Miss Rene Paglar, chairman of the Women's Section of the E.W.A. and an enjoyable film show were included in the program.

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(Continued from previous page)

army, then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army, because it is fighting Britain's Imperialist war under British officers.

Am I to believe that in an army of two-and-a-half millions, in which so many Indians are found fit to obtain the highest honour in the British Army—namely, the Victoria Cross—not one single Indian could be found fit to hold the rank of General?

Comrades! I have just said that I am not ashamed to take the help of Nippon. I shall go further and say that if the once almighty British Empire can go round the world with the begging-bowl and can go down on its knees in order to obtain help from the United States of America, there is no reason why we—an enslaved and disarmed nation—should not take help from our friends. Today, we may be taking the help of Nippon, tomorrow we shall not hesitate to take help from any other quarter—if that be possible, and if that be desirable, in the best interests of India.

Foreign Help Essential

Nobody would be more happy than myself if we could achieve India's independence without foreign help of any sort. But I have yet to find one single instance in modern history where an enslaved nation has achieved its liberation without foreign help of some sort. And for enslaved India, it is much more honourable to join hands with the enemies of the British Empire than to curry favour with British leaders or political parties. Our whole difficulty is that we do not hate our enemies enough and our leaders do not teach us to hate India's enemies—though they teach us to hate those whom they regard as the enemies of other nations. Is it not ridiculous for some of our leaders to talk of fighting Fascism abroad, while shaking hands with Imperialism at home?

Comrades! I would never have opened my mouth and said one word to you, if I had been sitting as an armchair politician here. But I and my comrades here are engaged in a grim struggle. Our comrades at the front have to play with death. Ever those who are not at the front have to face danger? Every moment of their existence. When we were in Burma, bombing and machine-gunning was our daily entertainment. I have seen many of my comrades killed, maimed and injured from the enemy's ruthless bombing and machine-gunning. I have seen the entire hospital of the Azad Hind Fauj in Rangoon razed to the ground, with our helpless patients suffering heavy casualties.

That I and many others with me are still alive today, is only through God's grace. It is because we are living, working and fighting in the presence of death that I have a right to speak to you and to advise you. Most of you do not know what carpet-bombing is. Most of you do not know what is to be machine-gunned by low-flying bombers and fighters. Most of you have had no experience of bullets whistling past you, to your right and to your left. Those who have gone through

this experience and have nevertheless kept up their morale, cannot even look at Lord Wavell's offer.

Comrades! We have to consider what to do about Lord Wavell's offer. First of all, though the time at your disposal is short, you will have to do everything possible to prevent the acceptance of this offer by the Congress Working Committee. Secondly, if you fail in that, you will then have to create a situation, which will force the Congress representatives to resign from the Viceroy's Executive Council. This will not be difficult. You will have to insist on the release of all political prisoners, which will, in itself, bring about a crisis between the Viceroy and the Congress members of the Executive Council. There is no doubt that when the new Executive Council is formed, the Viceroy will begin to exploit India's resources in men, money and materials for fighting Britain's future war in the Far East.

This will naturally raise numerous issues in which India's interests will clash with those of Britain. If you keep up your agitation and propaganda, then the Congress members of the Executive Council will be forced to stand up for India's interests against those of Britain, in which case, a clash with the Viceroy will be certain. Then, you will have to agitate in order to prevent Indian troops being sent as cannon-fodder to the Far East. If you fail in that, you will have to undertake sabotage, in order to disrupt enemy transport and lines of communication. As you are aware, during the last five years the British were giving valuable instructions for organising and carrying on an underground movement in countries which went out of their control or influence. If you make use of all those instructions and apply them against the British in India, you will achieve valuable results. Last, but not least, you will have to form cells within the Indian Army and prepare for a revolt from within. The Indian Army of today is not the Indian Army of 1939. It is an army which, according to British reports, is two-and-a-half million strong. In this army, there are many who are politically-minded and nationalist at heart. The time for a revolt will come when this Army is demobilised. If India is not free by then. Thanks to this war, two-and-a-half million Indians have been trained in the use of arms. When the time comes for their disbandment, they can raid the armouries and get the arms with which to fight our British rulers. The Chittagong Armoury Raid in 1930 was an excellent example of how arms belonging to our enemy could be procured and then used against them.

Motto of Revolutionaries

Comrades! I shall now close for the day. But before I conclude, I would remind you that a revolutionary is one who believes in the justice of a cause, and who believes that that cause is bound to prevail in the long run. He who gets depressed over failures or setbacks, is no

revolutionary. The motto for a revolutionary is "Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst."

I am confident that if we fight on and if we play our cards well in the international field, we shall win our freedom by the end of this war. But that does not mean that if, by any chance, we fail to do so, we should be disheartened or depressed. Consequently, if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of this war, our next plan shall be a post-war revolution inside India. And if we fail in that, too, then there will be World War No. 3 to give us another opportunity to strike for our freedom.

I have no doubt that World War No. 3 will break out within 10 years of the end of this war, if not earlier, in case all the suppressed nations of the world are not liberated during the course of the present war. India's independence is a settled fact. The only uncertain factor is the time-factor. At the worst, it may take a few more years for India to be free. Why then should we be easily discouraged and rush to the Viceroy's House for a compromise? Your task as revolutionaries will be to keep the Flag of Independence flying until such time, as that flag proudly floats over the Viceroy's house in New Delhi.

British Act Disillusions Entire Burmese People

(Continued from previous page)

the Burmese people will not have an Army of their own. If the British think that this will not be noted by the Burmese people, then the British are living in a fool's paradise.

While the Bill takes Burma politically back to the year 1909, —on the economic side, the British Government has assured Burma of a return to the Status quo ante—that is, to the exploitation of Burma by the Burma Oil Company, Burma Corporation, Steel Brothers and similar British firms. That the Burmese people would welcome a return to their pre-war economic status can be believed only by one who has taken leave of his senses.

Labour Blesses Bill

According to London reports, the Labour Party has given its support to the above Bill introduced in Parliament by the Churchill Cabinet. This is a further proof—if any proof is needed—that with regard to dependent countries like India and Burma, there is no difference between the policy of the Conservative Party and that of the Labour Party.

Those Indians who still think that the advent of the Labour Party to power will bring any advantage to India should take a leaf out of Burma's experience. Speaking for myself, I may say that I hope and pray that the Conservative Party will be returned to power, so that under the lashes of British Imperialism, the people of India may come out in open revolt, in order to break, once for all, the shackles of slavery.

Desperate Minesweeping Operations In Balikpapan Frustrated

A Nippon Base in the South-West Pacific, June 25 (Domei)—Although enemy forces attempted to carry out desperate minesweeping operations in Balikpapan Bay, Nippon shore batteries repulsed them completely and checked attempts at landing operations in this sector.

The enemy's ship bombardment against Balikpapan had been intensified since June 20, and on June 21 in concert with observation planes, enemy warships carried out concentrated shelling of our anti-aircraft and artillery positions. Under cover of this fire the enemy attempted minesweeping operations near the entrance to Balikpapan Bay, but upon meeting a withering screen of artillery fire from our shore batteries, where one enemy minesweeper was sunk, the enemy fled toward the offing behind a thick smoke screen.

In spite of his first failure, the enemy on the following morning, June 22, in concert with bombing attacks and under cover of two heavy cruisers, approached the coastal shores of Balikpapan with three minesweepers and again attempted to engage in minesweeping operations, but once again fled pell-mell when our shore batteries opened up with concentrated fire.

Although seven days have elapsed since the enemy began bitter bombings of our positions by all his landbased planes, he has been checked from carrying out minesweeping operations. Moreover, since an enemy convoy is not even in sight, his landing operations have completely been frustrated.

Under these conditions the enemy is carrying out frenzied shelling and bombing of our artillery positions, resulting in fierce artillery warfare between the two opposing forces. All our positions however are intact, and our guns have already sunk or heavily damaged two enemy minesweepers. Damage to our positions has been comparatively light and our defenders are prepared to crush the enemy the minute he steps foot on land.

Relief Fund Committee To Be Inaugurated Here

The inaugural ceremony of the Heiho and Gyuheis Family Relief Fund Committee will take place at the Dai Toa Gekijo (former Cathay) next Sunday at 10 a.m. Families of Heihos and Gyuheis are specially requested to attend as well as members of the public.

The following is the programme: 10 a.m. Opening of Ceremony, Salute and Paying of Homage in Silence, Speech by Commander of Defence Headquarters, Presentation of Certificates to Committee Members, Speech by Chairman—Mr. G. H. Kiat, Speech by H.E. the Mayor, Speech of thanks by Lieut. Col. Ibrahim, and Screening of film.

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(A.V.M.A.D.)